DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 340 055 CS 507 643

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TITLE Identification and Consubstantiation in the 1988 California Primary Campaign Rhetoric of Jesse Jackson: A Burkeian Approach.
PUB DATE 2 Nov 91
NOTE 28p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Speech Communication Association (77th, Atlanta, GA, October 31-November 3, 1991).
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Audience Awareness; Discourse Analysis; *Elections; *Persuasive Discourse; *Political Candidates; *Presidential Campaigns (United States); Public Speaking
IDENTIFIERS *Burke (Kenneth); California; *Jackson (Jesse); Presidential Primaries

ABSTRACT

In 1988, Jesse Jackson was the second most successful candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, finishing behind Michael Dukakis. While Jackson displayed extraordinary rhetorical talent and articulated a view of America unlike that of other candidates, little scholarly attention has been paid to his rhetoric. Examination of four of Jackson's speeches delivered during the 1988 California primary campaign reveal a strategy of creating identification with audiences. Such a strategy reflects Kenneth Burke's theory of rhetoric as symbolic action. Jackson is capable of assessing an audience and adapting his topic choice quickly to that group. The candidate's use of nonverbal elements as signs of character that an audience respects mirror Burke's notion of "conduct" that an audience finds "admirable." In his speeches, Jackson delivered a message about the need for change and ways to achieve it. Jackson presented themes consistently, but altered topics and presentation methods to suit the audience before him. In the end, Jackson received 32 percent of the California primary vote, compared to Dukakis' 68 percent. Jackson's rhetorical talents, including especially his ability to create identity with audiences, contributed to his 1988 successes. He achieved his goal of transforming audiences and helping them see the power they possessed. (Twenty-eight references are attached.) (SG)

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Introduction

"Keep hope alive! Never surrender! When I win, you win!"

These and other familiar slogans were symbols of the Jesse Jackson for President campaign of 1988. Jackson, who also ran for President in 1984, expanded his political base in 1988, winning 13 primaries and caucuses, coming in second in 34, and making the clear point that his campaign was a serious challenge to entrenched political power structures. He traveled throughout the United States, making thousands of appearances before audiences of his Rainbow Coalition constituencies as well as general audiences. At the end of the primary election season, Jackson came in second to Michael Dukakis, and the two were the only surviving Democratic candidates out of a field of seven who began the competition for the nomination. At both the1984 and 1988 Democratic National Conventions, Jackson delivered electrifying speeches televised to national audiences, allowing him access to millions of voters who had not had the opportunity to hear him in person. Audiences of laypeople and public speaking professionals acknowledged that Jackson demonstrated extraordinary rhetorical talent, and articulated a vision for America's future that was substantially different from that of any other candidate in 1984 or 1988. In spite of this, little scholarly attention has been paid to the rhetoric of Jackson. Not a single article on Jackson's rhetoric has appeared to date in a major speech communication journal.

Some of the national SCA convention programs of the last few years have included scholarly work on Jackson. A review of the programs from 1986-1990 revealed 10 papers on Jackson. Using fantasy theme analysis, Hamlet (1986) described Jackson's

1984 campaign rhetoric in a paper delivered at the 1986 SCA convention. No papers on his rhetoric appeared in the 1987 convention program. At the 1988 convention, the Black Caucus sponsored a panel on "Jesse Jackson as Communicator," featuring four papers on Jackson, assessing his communication style (Niles, 1988), his image as a country preacher (Atwater, 1988), his use of language and ideology (Calloway-Thomas, 1988), and his media image in the 1988 campaign (Merritt, 1988). Five papers on Jackson were given at the 1989 SCA meeting, presenting work on Jackson's argumentation (Hallmark, 1989), use of narration (Mitchell and Phipps, 1989), archetypal content (Moore, 1989) and other message-oriented approaches (Sullivan, 1989; Kelly, 1989). No papers on Jackson were given at the 1990 convention. I believe additional attention needs to be devoted to the analysis and assessment of Jackson's rhetoric not only because of the skills he demonstrates in all the traditional areas of invention, organization, style, memory, and delivery, but also because of his ability to relate to his audiences.

The purpose of this essay is to analyze the ways in which Jackson's speeches and actions during the 1988 California Presidential Primary campaign (the last major primary election of the 1988 campaign, held June 8, 1988) created identification in his audiences. Using Kenneth Burke's discussion of identification and consubstantiation in A Rhetoric of Motives and Karlyn Kohrs Campbell's concept of the "created audience," I will show how Jackson attempted to persuade his audiences that their interests were joined, although they were unique; that by acting together they would create common ground and find unity; that by redefining their relationship to property they could stop battling and start cooperating; that by taking part in making these changes in thought and action, they could transform themselves and American society under Jackson's leadership into a people and a land where the ultimate goals of the Constitution could be achieved.

Review of the Literature

Many scholars in our field have sought to explain and apply the work of Kenneth Burke, whose theory of rhetoric as symbolic action has proved especially fruitful in analyzing

people's behavior. A full discussion of the Burke literature is beyond the scope of this essay, but a brief review of the major ideas of Burke to be used in this essay and a review of selected critical writing on Burke are offered here.

Burke believes that people use language (verbal symbols) in response to a situation they perceive (1969). The verbal symbols allow people to perform many kinds of acts (explaining, agreeing, arguing). Political speakers who hold press conferences, make announcements, and give speeches are performing actions in response to conditions they perceive in their towns, states, or nations, and their reasons (motives) for speaking are to gain or maintain power, influence other people, solve problems, etc.--to accomplish some purpose. In Burke's view, because each human being is unique, each is separated from others. Burke believes a rhetor's job is to help unique human beings overcome their separation and find the ways in which they are joined to others--identified with them in common patterns of thinking and living. Thus, rhetors' motives are mostly concerned with creating identification in audiences. Rhetorical critics have employed Burke as they discussed the strategies used by speakers to connect their interests to those of their auditors.

One basic rhetorical motive according to Burke is the desire to transform one's listeners or a situation from a present state or condition to a different (and better) state or condition (1969, pp.10-15). In order to transform something, the ideas and imagery of identification are needed. A speaker must describe the listeners' or situation's nature or condition before and after the change, thus identifying it (RGM 20). In order to transform listeners or a situation, a speaker needs to gain their cooperation. Burke points out that <u>"an essential function of language"</u> is its use <u>"as a symbolic means of inducing cooperation in beings that by nature respond to symbols"</u> (p. 43). The way a speaker gets cooperation from an audience is to use language to create identification. As Burke puts it, "A is not identical with his colleague B. But insofar as their interests are joined, A is <u>identified</u> with B. Or he may <u>identify himself</u> with B even when their interests are not joined, if he assumes that they are, or is persuaded to believe so." (p.

20). A speaker chooses symbols and arranges them in such a way that the As and Bs of the audience will come to see their interests as joined. If their interests are joined, then, says Burke, they become "consubstantial" with one another. Each A remains a unique individual, but he is also joined with each B (pp. 20-21). Once audience members become "both joined and separate" (p. 21) they can proceed to act together--to cooperate.

Thus, says Burke, "(i)dentification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity." (p. 22). Audience members who are unaware of the ways their interests are joined with one another, feel divided from each other--separate, different, isolated. When a rhetor successfully creates identification between him/herself and the audience members, and between/among audience members, the separateness dissolves and joint action becomes possible.

To create consubstantiality, elicit cooperation, and transform listeners or a situation, a speaker may choose from an array of methods. Burke offers the methods of traditional Aristotelian virtues (p. 55), nonverbal signals added to suit images and ideas that mimic the listener (Burke calls this "flattery", p. 55), deferring to an audience's opinions by displaying "signs of character needed to earn the audience's good will" (p. 56), using imagery to invite participation (pp. 10-13, 17), using formal stylistic devices like repetition, alliteration, etc. (pp. 58-59), and repeating ideas (p. 26). Scholars applying Burke's ideas to various rhetorical situations have pointed out methods of identification. Brummett (1975) in a study of Nixon's August 15, 1973 Watergate address, discussed identification and substance, focusing on how Burke's division of substance into three kinds illuminates the public responses to Nixon during the Watergate era. Cheney in his study of formal communication in organizations, reviewed earlier work on Burke and pointed out three "identification strategies": common ground technique, antithesis (uniting against a common enemy), and the transcendent "we" (1983, p. 148). Olson in her study of Reagan's Bitburg rhetoric pointed out two strategies of redefinition derived from Burke: transcendance and transformation (1989,

pp.132-133). She defined transformation as "the reversal of the material 'inside' the definitional boundaries with the material 'outside' these boundaries. In other words, the name remains the same, but now identifies as figure what was formerly the background. The content of a term changes, no longer naming 'what it is' but now naming 'what it was not.'" (p. 132) The strategy of transcendance uses a different type of meaning change. "In transcendance, the material on opposite sides of the boundary is not reversed, but blended. Transcendance merges what is inside and outside the boundaries. It blurs the distinction between figure and ground so that the two no longer dialectically imply each other. A redefinition that relies on transcendance blends aspects of opposing terms into a new term that encompasses parts of both the previous definitions." (summarizing Burke, 1945, pp. xix, 24; 132-133). Roberts (1989), analyzing the Robert Oppenheimer Security Clearance Hearing of 1954, suggested that identification occurred when witnesses showed agreement with or understanding of the defendant's belief and action.

Thus, there are at least 11 ways to create identification between audience and speaker and among audience members, according to Burke and the literature of recent rhetorical critics using his ideas:

1. Use ideas that promote identification
2. Use images that promote identification verbally (.i.e., word pictures, descriptions) and invite participation
3. Choose language symbols carefully and arrange them carefully (alliteration, metaphor, etc.)
4. Exploit the traditional Aristotelian virtues (justice, courage, self-control, poise, broad-mindedness, liberality, gentleness, prudence, wisdom; Burke, 1969, p. 55)
5. Use nonverbal methods that mimic the listener ("flattery")
6. Defer to audience opinion by displaying signs of character they respect; reveal your "substance" (Brummett)
7. Use common ground techniques (recognizing individual contributions, advocating activities together, giving testimonials, espousing shared values, reporting successes, per Cheney)
8. Use antithesis (unite against the common enemy) (Cheney)
9. Use "we" language (Cheney)

10. Redefine situations as needed to transform or transcend them (Olson)

11. Show understanding of audience beliefs, actions, experiences, etc. (Roberts)

All these ways seem to fit the notion of common ground techniques; all are methods of persuading listeners to believe that A's interests are joined with B's, and because of this, A and B should cooperate. These methods are present in the rhetoric of Jackson in the California primary campaign, as will be shown below.

Concept of Audience

In addition to a speaker's use of message strategies and personal behavior as methods of creating identification, the rhetorical situation also includes additional factors which affect the outcome of the discourse and the success of the identification strategies: audience members. The importance of the audience for discourse has regained prominence in recent times. Black's (1970) "The Second Persona" reminded rhetorical critics to "see in the auditor implied by the discourse a model of what the rhetor would have his real auditor become" (p. 113), and reminded rhetorical critics of their duties to evaluate discourse as well as describe and explain it. The evaluation or moral judgment of the text was to be based on the ideology expressed by the rhetor and what the rhetor asked the auditor to do or be. Campbell (1972) explained the audience role further by proposing the concept of the "created audience" (pp. 71-74). According to this idea, in a persuasive situation, a rhetor asks an audience to play roles and take on a persona; the rhetor "creates" the audience [by holding up a mirror to them], inviting them to participate in the construction of a situation. In order to succeed in persuading an audience to act, the rhetor must be sure that the audience <u>has</u> the power to act and <u>believes</u> that it has it. An audience can take action "if and only if they come to believe that they can." (p. 74) The power to believe one can act comes from the way the rhetor treats the audience, characterizes it, and characterizes the situation.

Combining Burke with Campbell, we may say that in "creating" the audience by enabling them to believe that they have the power to act, the speaker is employing powerful identification techniques that empower audience members to transcend their

differences and engage in joint action toward mutual goals. This, I believe, is what Jesse Jackson did with primary campaign audiences all over the United States in 1988, and particularly in California.

Brief Biography of Jesse Jackson

Jesse Louis Jackson was born in 1941 in Greenville, South Carolina. His mother was a teenager, unmarried, and his father did not acknowledge paternity. Jackson grew up in a poverty-stricken neighborhood, but was encouraged to succeed by his mother and grandmother. He held leadership positions in high school, excelled in sports and earned a football scholarship to college. He graduated from North Carolina A & T State University in 1963 with a degree in sociology, attended Chicago Theological Seminary for two and a half years, and dropped out shortly before graduation to participate in the civil rights struggle in Selma, Alabama. In 1968 he was ordained a Baptist minister within the National Baptist Convention. His theology emphasizes personal piety, study, and action, encouraging self-discipline and self-esteem in others, faithful pursuit of right behavior with others and with God, and working to bring about as just and fair a political society as possible, given human frailty and sinfulness. He follows Martin Luther King's and Reinhold Niebuhr's injunction to practice nonviolent resistance and spiritual discipline against resentment (Lasch, 1991). He believes with King in standing up to one's enemies and educating them about the errors of their ways. This is his method of bringing about peaceful change in American society and in international relations.

Jackson and his wife Jacqueline were married in 1963 and have five children. Jackson has served in various civil rights organizations and was the director of Operation PUSH, a Chicago-based nonprofit group that seeks jobs for black youth. After the 1988 national election Jackson moved from Chicago, where he had lived for many years, to Washington, D.C., where he was elected to the position of "shadow Senator" from the District of Columbia.

The California Primary Campaign

During the primary election campaign season of 1988, Jesse Jackson traveled extensively, appearing in important primary states as often as possible. California, with a large number of delegates and an election held at the end of the primary period, became important as Jackson battled Michael Dukakis for the Democratic nomination. It was the last stop on the primary schedule that began on February 8 in Iowa and ended on June 8. Even in late May, when it became clear that Dukakis would have enough delegates to win, still Jackson campaigned intensely in California. He made trips there on May 6, 13, 17-18, and 25 (See The New York Times campaign coverage on May 7, May 14, May 18, May 19, and May 26). On Wednesday, June 1, Jackson arrived in California for a final period of activity lasting until the voting on June 7. He spent the weekend before the voting in a nonstop schedule of events in Los Angeles, Bakersfield, San Bernardino, Hollywood, Compton, San Francisco, and Redlands, addressing gang members, housing project residents, Muslims, Hispanics, gays and lesbians, church congregations, movie stars, and ordinary people. He stayed overnight in a housing project called Nickerson Gardens located in a dangerous area of Watts, visited children dying of cancer in McFarland, toured an AIDS hospice, and held a private meeting with gang leaders. He seemed to be trying to reduce people's uncertainty about him by positioning himself in as many venues as possible, indicating that he was at home in any setting.

Jackson's preferred and most customary speaking style was extemporaneous; he rarely used any notes, and when given a prepared text, readily departed from it (Colton, 1989; Porter, 1990). His delivery appeared spontaneous (and probably often was), thus building a competent image for audience members, most of whom would themselves fear public speaking situations. He had a comfortable, confident command of his material, never stumbling over words, always having the perfect phrase at his command.. He presented a handsome, well-groomed appearance, enabling audience members to like him before he speaks. His straight and confident posture, clothing choice (executive suits and ties), gestures (strong illustrators), and consistent eye contact with audiences

informed audience members that he considered them important.

Jackson presented a similar message at each campaign stop. In each message he identified unique characteristics of the audience and explained how these unique aspects equipped audience members for a special role in life. Further, he encouraged audience members toward positive action and urged them away from dwelling on the negative experiences they had endured. He showed understanding of the negatives and related his own similar experiences to show that he had something in common with each audience. Also, he used his strong Christian beliefs and exhorted the audience to join with him in living particular principles for their own spiritual growth and to improve their situations.

Discussion of Four Jackson Speeches

I will now examine four of Jackson's 1988 California primary campaign speeches and show how they carefully targeted audience needs, described his personal experience, established common ground using the Burkeian methods outlined above, and created an audience self-perception that pointed toward Jackson's campaign goals.

"Remarks at the Islamic Center Rally," June 4, 1988[1]

The press buses arrived at the Islamic Center in Los Angeles at 7:25 PM on Saturday, June 4. It was a cool, clear summer evening under a blue sky. The rally, sponsored by the Muslim Political Action Committee, was already underway in an open area, part grass and part parking lot, beside the mosque and administration complex that formed the Islamic Center. A speaker's platform of raised floor, portable backdrop, podium, and folding chairs was set up at the far end of the acre-sized open area. Dignitaries from the Islamic community were seated on the platform, some in traditional

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[1] I attended this event and the three others described in this paper, as a member of the traveling press sponsored by WJON-FM, St. Cloud, Minnesota, and a grant from St. Cloud State University.

dress, and a speaker was exhorting the crowd on Jesse Jackson's behalf. About 1000 people were sitting on folding chairs, and another 200 were behind them and at the sides of the seating area. Many audience members wore traditional Muslim clothing--turban, caftan, galibayah, chador. Others wore western clothes. Such an audience, probably composed of long-time American citizens of Arab descent as well as recent immigrants, would have a strong interest in hearing about Jackson's views on the Middle East and Africa. Since they have come to the rally, one can expect that they follow presidential politics and have an interest in it, and are well-informed about events in their regions of origin. When the crowd saw the press spilling out of the campaign buses, they began to chant, "Jes-SEE! Jes-SEE! " and "Win, Jesse, win!" The Muslim speaker on the platform, who wore a business suit and turban and spoke English with an Arab accent, encouraged the crowd: "This is not just a political rally for a political campaign or an expression of support for a candidate. ... We the people are getting together to shape the future!" "We have an opportunity through Jesse Jackson to say through him that it is about time for America to be what it was meant to be." Then he introduced another speaker, a Dr. El Farah, who asked the crowd to contribute money to the Jackson campaign. While ushers passed two-pound coffee tins among the crowd for contributions, some of Jackson's Secret Service men scanned the crowd and took places at the front and sides of the platform. Jackson then made his entrance, surrounded by Secret Service and aides, down a center aisle, with the crowd on their feet cheering and applauding. He took a seat on the platform. Jackson wore a navy blue suit, blue shirt, and red tie. When Dr. El Farah finished his remarks, Jackson went to the podium, thanked the crowd, and introduced his campaign people. Then he began his speech [2]. He used a solemn, serious tone, expressing the gravity of the situation he wished to discuss in his remarks.

The speech made four points. First, Jackson asserted that the "politics of principle" are the right ones to choose because they have enduring value, and that while there may

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2 I was present at all the speeches analyzed in this paper. I made audiotape recordings of the speeches and personally transcribed them.

be injustice at certain times and places, the universe tends toward justice. He developed his point by quoting Martin Luther King and by using the example of Thomas Jefferson, who had profited from slavery but realized it was wrong.

His second point was that the politics of principle require people to be consistent. Jackson explained how President Reagan and Vice-President Bush spoke of human rights, but did not consistently uphold them. He gave examples of places around the world where the U.S. should be standing up for human rights but is not. He gave an extended example of the need for consistent policies toward Israelis and Palestinians, concluding that peace is possible if the United States intervenes in the role of a mediator and supports consistent principles of peace and security.

Jackson's third point was that consistent action and application of principles requires an agent--someone with courage--to begin the process, and he is that person. This point was supported with examples of Jackson's qualities of courage, fairness, and leadership, and ways in which he would use them to change U.S. policy in many places around the world. World peace is a matter of will and right thinking, to Jackson.

Jackson's fourth point was that people must change their wrong habits of thinking and adopt reason, especially in fighting the war on drugs at every level--not just against the drug user, but against the drug producer and the drug distributor.

He concluded by urging adoption of his beliefs in courage, love, peace, the golden rule, fairness, caring, and high principles, and appealing for votes in the primary on Tuesday.

Analysis. Looking at this speech from an identification point of view, it is easy to see how Jackson employed Burkeian identification principles in reaching his audience. His goal was to have the audience of Muslims see that their interests were joined with his, although he was a black Christian minister and on the surface appeared to be different from Muslim Californians. Jackson used ideas that promoted identification--he spoke of the problems of the Middle East as relationship problems among competing nations and peoples who were caught in a cycle of killing and counter-killing; he offered peace and mediation achieved by sitting around a "common table". He appealed to the

"higher law" of right and wrong as a standard that all people should use to judge their behavior. He used word pictures to promote identification: Arabs and Jews sitting around a common table, President Reagan needing to "open that book [on human rights] and read it," the problems of the Middle East as "Israelis and Palestinians ... trapped in a death grip." He used parallel structure, metaphor, and simile skillfully. He appealed to traditional Aristotelian values of justice, courage, self-control, and wisdom. He talked about his visits to Middle Eastern countries, flattering audience members by showing that he cared about their countries enough to go there. He displayed character traits respected by Arabs: great respect for God, willingness to bargain in good faith, knowledge of history (Hall, 1973). He gave an example about a past experience leading to success in peace-making achieved by President Sadat of Egypt, and referred to the assumed shared values of peace, security, and a Palestinian homeland. He invited the audience to unite against a common enemies--war, death, racism, terrorism. He used "we" language consistently. He redefined the situation in the Middle East to transform it from a danger to an opportunity to apply peaceful principles and act morally. He showed understanding of audience beliefs by appealing to their desire for peace in the Middle East, a Palestinian homeland with secure borders, and an end to war, death, and racism.

"Remarks at the Latino Leaders' Breakfast," June 5, 1988[3]

The event took place in the Hollywood Room of the Hyatt Wilshire Hotel in Los Angeles. The meeting room was about 100 feet square. A pair of head tables with a podium between them marked the front of the room. Two red and white "Jesse Jackson for President" signs were taped to the front wall behind the head tables. A raised platform occupied by a forest of TV equipment and technicians stretched across the rear of the room. The rest of the space was filled with about 20 round tables for 10

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[3] The terminology used here to refer to the people at the breakfast, i.e., "Latino" leaders, is the term Jackson's scheduling people used. In his speech, Jackson used the terms "Hispanic" and "Latin America" to refer to Spanish-speaking Americans and their region of origin."

surrounded by chairs and set for breakfast. In an adjoining room, a buffet of breakfast foods was laid out. By 8:25 AM on this Sunday morning the room was crammed with seated Hispanic Americans enjoying their meals, press members and their equipment, and standing latecomers for whom neither chairs nor breakfasts were available. The din of conversation and the clink of silverware on china increased. Antonio Rodriguez, an immigration attorney and community activist, came to the podium, blew into the microphone, and said, "Buenos Dios, por favor." The room quieted.

Rodriguez began to speak, welcoming the crowd and recogizing Latino leaders in attendance. Rodriguez told the crowd why it was important to support a presidential candidate. He disparaged candidate Michael Dukakis and lauded Jackson as a man of action. Then he introduced his sister, the chair of the Southern California Latinos for Jackson. She took the podium and discussed the significance of this gathering of Latinos, and Jackson's history of helping Latinos. When she finished, Antonio Rodriguez introduced the deputy vice major of Los Angeles, Grace Montanez-Davis, who endorsed Jackson. Many people stood and cheered. More political volunteers were introduced. The mood of the room became electric. A flurry of activity at the rear door signaled Jackson's entrance. Cameras came off tripods, strobe lights glared on, and the audience erupted in cheers and applause. People chanted, "Win, Jesse, win!" and "Jes-SEE! Jes-SEE!" The Secret Service opened a path through the crush of people and Jackson advanced to the head table, smiling, shaking hands, waving in greeting. He took a seat while Mario Obledo, National Cochair of Latinos for Jackson, introduced him. This morning Jackson wore a brown suit, white shirt, and red tie. Jackson went to the podium, amidst deafening cheers and applause, waited for the noise to subside, and began another set of introductions, including his local campaign officials, his mother and sister, and his national campaign cochair. When he began to speak, he used a solemn, serious tone.

Jackson's speech was delivered without notes and lasted 15 minutes. In it he made four points, all designed to create common ground between himself and the audience with the goal of winning their votes in the primary. In the ongoing campaign for delegates and

primary victories, Michael Dukakis was making a stronger showing among Hispanics than Jackson, and Jackson needed to increase his standing among the Hispanic segment of the population. Jackson began his speech with a reference to Robert F. Kennedy and Martin Luther King, both killed in 1968, both perceived as heroes by the Hispanic and black communities. This day, the day he was speaking, marked the 20th anniversary of the day Robert Kennedy died while campaigning in the California primary in 1968. Jackson referred to the Voting Rights Act of 1964, initiated by the Kennedy Administration and supported by Robert Kennedy as attorney general, made possible through the marches and protests led by Martin Luther King. Both blacks and Hispanics benefitted from the Voting Rights Act. Yet the endorsed Democratic candidate supported by blacks and Hispanics in 1968, Hubert Humphrey, lost the general election by a small margin. Jackson referred to the enemies of the common people--despair, hopelessness, cynicism, fear--and urged the group to "keep hope alive and never surrender."

Jackson's second point was that other presidential candidates did not understand the needs of Hispanics, but Jackson does. He made this point through an anecdote about the Iowa Caucus campaign and a comparison between the other candidates' "Santa Claus" approach of giving "goodies" to minority groups, and his own "empowerment" approach of business development.

> You do not need Santy Claus and his show. You need to be empowered and make your own toys and do your own distribution. If Santy Claus and the elves can make toys, why can't you make toys? And then make toys in your own image. Make toys that are bilingual. Make toys that don't speak English only. Make toys that believe in peace in Central America.

During this part of the speech, Jackson increased his voice volume, his energy level, and his expressiveness. He was exhorting the audience, using his emotional level to raise theirs.

It is important to note the identification techniques in this section of Jackson's address. Jackson used images of bilingual toys to mirror the bilingual audience and show understanding of one of their greatest problems. He chose language symbols carefully

and used parallel structure. He challenged audience members to show courage, he advocated joint activities, and he invited the audience to act on their own behalf.

Jackson's third point was that Hispanics should vote for him because he helped them reach their goals in the past. Jackson gave at least seven examples of occasions where he had helped Hispanics win their rights, reminding them of past successes and the common ground they occupied with him.

Jackson's fourth point was that his dream for America incorporated the same ideas that Hispanics dreams hold. To support and explain this point he gave examples of domestic and foreign policy changes he would make if elected, emphasizing his policies toward Latin America.

Finally, Jackson concluded with a direct appeal for the endorsement of the Hispanic community, saying, "I need you in this coalition," and reminding them, "If I can become President, so can you. If I can't, you can't. When I win, you win." These statements also reveal a strategy of identification. Jackson narrated Hispanic goals and his own goals, and showed that as a candidate, he embodied both sets of goals. By voting for him, Hispanics vote for themselves as symbolized by him. Their interests are joined as minority group members in America, as oppressed group members, as people who want a better life. Jackson transcended the June 7 primary as the only goal by telling the audience:

> For us, winning on Tuesday has its place, 'cause it empowers us to raise issues of jobs and peace and justice, and our struggle is not just a June 7 struggle, it's an every day and a forever struggle. The struggle to build a coalition is an every day and a forever struggle. The struggle to keep America strong and make America better is an every day and a forever struggle. Let's join the struggle. Endorse this campaign. When I win, you win.

Analysis. Jackson's strategy with the Hispanic audience of this speech seemed to be to use direct attempts to show them how their interests were joined with his. He emphasized the times--widely publicized--when he had worked with Hispanic agricultural workers to help them achieve basic human rights and end exploitation by

employers and corrupt labor "representatives". He implied that both he and they were discriminated against because of their race or color when he said, "If I can become President, so can you. If I can't, you can't." He told them directly and forcefully that he needed their support, their endorsement, and their votes, showing the Hispanic community that they were politically important and implying that his knowledge of their concerns and their needs would go with him to the White House. He spent a good deal of time on a "flag issue" important to Hispanics: "English only"--the attempt by California and other states to make English the "official" language of the state, and the attempt by some citizen groups to force all children to speak English in school and be taught in English. By mentioning this issue, ridiculing it, and showing his support for bilingual living, Jackson showed that he understood an important concern of Hispanic-American citizens, and one which has separated them from other groups of American citizens. He suggested that Hispanic-Americans design their own businesses and distribution systems to bypass existing businesses and marketing systems that are closed to them because of their ethnic origin, showing that he understood their need to develop a middle class of entrepreneurs in order to achieve economic progress as a people. In all these ways, Jackson built identification between himself and his audience.

"Remarks at First AME Church," June 5, 1988

The Jackson campaign caravan arrived at the First African Methodist Episcopal Church at 12:10 PM on Sunday, June 5, 1988, after two appearances at other churches. First AME Church was large, the rectangular sanctuary painted ivory with a light blue ceiling and furnished with wood pews stained a medium brown. A balcony at the rear of the sanctuary held additional worshippers. A large mural, perhaps 30 feet wide by 15 feet high, depicting a Christian scene, was painted high on the front wall. Just below the mural sat the choir, robed in white, and in front of the choir were the ministers, the organ and drum set, and the pulpit. Everyone in the predominantly black audience of

about 1,000 people was standing, singing the gospel song, "Oh, Happy Day" accompanied by the organ and drums, when the Jackson campaign arrived. Jackson went to the front, ascended the stairs, and took a seat beside the ministers. He was wearing the brown suit, white shirt, and red tie in which he began the day. Although he was to give the sermon, he did not dress in a black academic gown, as the other ministers did. The song ended, and the senior minister prayed aloud for Jackson. Then everyone sat down. The minister, the Rev. Cecil Murray, introduced several of Jackson's people, who spoke briefly about voting and fundraising. A woman presented Jackson with a gift. Rev. Murray introduced Jackson and he took the podium at 12:25 PM for a 30-minute speech/sermon. As usual, he began by thanking the hosts; then he complimented the audience, and mentioned leaders in civil rights whom he and the audience knew well. He spoke quietly, solemnly, respectfully, as befitting the formal surroundings and context of the Sunday worship service.

Jackson's speech took the form of a sermon, comparing elements of the Christmas story with elements of the lives of audience members and his own campaign. He made three points. The first was that his campaign has caused hope to be reborn in people's lives, empowering them to act. He reviewed the deaths of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King 20 years earlier, battles against segregation in the 1960s, and the continuing need to do what is morally right and oppose what is morally wrong. He stated his own desire to help all people.

Jackson's second point recast the Christmas story as a story about a homeless couple and an insensitive government official. Mary and Joseph had hope, although they were poor, and they did their best against great odds. As Jackson told the story, he used more voice volume, added some gestures, smiled broadly, and used a variety of vocal tones--ridicule, sarcasm, questioning, etc., with the timing of a stand-up comedian working his favorite material. Jackson told his personal story about being born poor and having to do his best. The actions of the shepherds and Wise Men were shown as right--choosing humanity and caring for the homeless. Jackson reviewed his beliefs about what makes

good moral behavior: feeding the hungry, fighting for the homeless, providing job training, wiping out poverty, providing health care, turning toward peace and away from war, and caring for others rather than just for oneself. He became more vehement, exhorting the congregation.

The third point discussed the Jackson campaign, saying that Jackson's purpose was to empower the disenfranchised by building a coalition to give hope to America and the world. He told a story about his grandmother's quilt (frequently used in Jackson's speeches) to illustrate how a coalition forms and gains power through people joining together. His voice grew quieter, somewhat conspiratorial, as he shared an intimate story about his poverty-stricken childhood.

> What have I built? A quilt. I was brought up--grandma couldn't buy a blanket, all a piece of one-colored cloth, uncut, couldn't buy even a Army blanket, but we didn' freeze. Get a little ole piece o' coat, dress, slip, coverall, lay 'em out on the bed, and while they apart they were jus' rags, just patches, looked like nothin'. Hardly fit to wipe up they shoes 'cause they was jus' rags. But they didn' stay that way long. She would make straight her hands, strong cord, and turn those patches and pieces to a quilt, a thing of beauty and art. Now that's what Jesse Jackson's doin'. I'm buildin' a quilt, I'm buildin' a coalition, I'm bringin' the family together, without lines of sex or race or religion. I'm buildin' a family.

As the point was reached, Jackson shouted his words, emphasizing the important ones--making sure the congregation got the point he intended. They cheered.

He went on to mention many of the groups who would be helped by his campaign's victory: workers, farmers, minority group members, students, handicapped people, women, and homeless people.

Finally, Jackson concluded by making a series of Biblical allusions, reminding the audience of their Christian beliefs and urging them not to give up. He used his slogan, "We're winning every day," interspersed with the names of places where he had achieved primary election victories.

Analysis. Throughout the speech, Jackson used verbal symbols and devices to create identification: Biblical phrases and allusions appropriate to the Christian audience he was addressing in church, metaphors, and analogies. He used rhyme, rhythm, parallel structure, and antithesis. He use his voice volume and tone to emphasize points in classic black preacher style (Niles, 1978). He urged the audience to unite in fighting the common enemy, despair, and to keep hope alive. He complimented the church members and the preacher, and reminded them of the meetings held and victories shared in the past. He used "we" language. He used the African call and response style of preaching, affirming the common heritage he and they shared. He redefined the Christmas situation to transform it to fit today's trials and to transcend it to show that the past and the present were blended. He used examples from his own life to show that he understood the audience's experiences and troubles. He was a preacher talking with audience members in church about their common experience and common heritage of oppression, which he and they desired to change. In short, he showed them that their interests were joined with his and therefore, they should cooperate with him and support his campaign.

"Remarks at the Redlands Bowl," June 5, 1988

Jesse Jackson's campaign motorcade arrived at the Redlands Bowl, a large outdoor amphitheatre in Redlands, California, at 3:45 PM on Sunday afternoon. About 5,000 people sat waiting under the blue sky on green park bench-style wood seats and stood at the rear and sides of the seating area. The sun shone brightly and the afternoon was warm but not humid. The audience was composed primarily of white people, with many blacks, Asians, and Hispanics; most were women. Many held placards, some of which were hand-lettered messages directed at the news media and some of which were Jackson campaign signs. Excited people screamed and pointed as Jackson was spotted entering the enclosure and heading toward the neo-gothic stage. Cheers of "Jes-SEE! Jes-SEE!" shook the floor. The woman mayor of Redlands welcomed Jackson and presented him with a gift. Jackson moved to the podium, carrying a file folder. His presentation

would last 40 minutes. He greeted and thanked the mayor, then asked audience members to lower their signs so that all people could see. He began by commenting on the occasion of his visit--the campaign--and then on the anniversary of Robert Kennedy's death, as he had done in each appearance of the day. He asked the audience to participate with him in a litany of commemoration of the deaths, repeating words after him. The litany was about 200 words and took the form of a prayer. After this Jackson launched into his speech.

Jackson's message contained two points--the need to keep America strong and the need to make America better--which he developed by comparing current policies of the Reagan Administration to new policies which he would implement if he became President. Jackson emphasized his ability to be consistent in applying principles at home and abroad, and in taking a global perspective in all decisions.

In the first point, the need to keep America strong, Jackson asserted that the way to remain a strong nation was to fulfill "our noblest promise, by keeping alive our invitation, 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses who yearn to breathe free [sic].'" After developing this appeal to keep immigration open, Jackson used the metaphor of "breathing free" to bring in environmental issues--acid rain, pesticides, offshore oil drilling, water quality. Next, Jackson asserted that strength was built through being "good," and he defined "good" as "how we treat people, how we respect people" by providing adequate health care and education. "How do we measure our goodness? By how we treat the poor in the pit of life," which he explained was inhabited mostly by white, female, young people. This was followed by a paragraph describing the needs women had as heads of households, as breadwinners, and as human beings. Jackson endorsed pay equity, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the principle of comparable worth in salary, and suggested that America needed a woman President. The crowd, mostly women, responded with cheers.

Jackson continued to define "our goodness" by describing "our character" as a nation. He called for better treatment for the poor, using a section of his basic speech that the

traveling press called his "Ode to the Poor" (Colton, 1989), which begins: "Most poor people are not on welfare. They work every day, and when they get through workin', they're still in poverty. Where are they? I know them." etc. He called for improved treatment of senior citizens, including housing, health care, and respect. Acknowledging that additional services and social programs cost money, Jackson asked, "Where's the money comin' from? The money's comin' from where the money went. Where did the money go to? We've doubled the defense budget in peacetime beyond our needs," and he detailed areas of defense spending that should be reduced, ending with a call to reduce all weapons systems, bring troops home from Europe and Japan, and seek peace. He encouraged continuation of the space program and suggested using satellites to locate water and oil to help Third World nations. "Let's use our best minds to heal the world, not threaten the world." He implied that Americans have been selfish, and need to take a different approach to ownership and consumption. He reminded the audience that they had the power to change government priorities by their votes for "the politics of principles, not just politics as usual."

On the point of making America better, Jackson asserted that spending priorities needed changing, so that America's money was spent to help people lead better lives. He said the government should invest in people, via pay equity and a "real war on drugs," whereupon he told about his visit to Watts and his conversation with gang members and his belief that the government is involved in allowing drugs to come in, weapons to be freely available, and money to be laundered. As President, Jackson said he would cut the supply of drugs, but said "the people must cut the demand for drugs." He listed the societal, familial, and individual consequences of drug use and appealed to people to "say no" to drugs.

Finally, to make America better, Jackson asserted that "We got to change this world." "We got to change our minds about this world," meaning that U.S. foreign policy in Latin America and around the world must no longer be planned to exploit other nations' resources for United States' use, but must be planned to help other nations' citizens

make the most appropriate use of their resources to strengthen their economies and to share in the world's wealth. He criticized specific Reagan Administration policies in Latin America. He appealed for the votes of the audience in the June 7 primary, asking them to send him to the White House so that he could make America stronger and better. He asked the audience to "expand our intelligence and our culture," acknowledging the immigrant origin of most of the American people. He encouraged the audience, complimenting them and raising their self-esteem. He asked them to change. He acknowledged the handicapped people in the audience and urged them to join the Rainbow coalition. To end the speech, Jackson repeated his slogans, "We're winning every day," "When I win, you win," "Never surrender," and "Keep hope alive," interspersed with examples of where his campaign had won primary election victories and what was needed to keep hope alive.

Analysis. Throughout the speech, Jackson used examples and topics to create identification with his primarily female audience. He mentioned issues important to them--pay equity, the ERA, comparable worth--that he did not use in the other speeches. He emphasized the needs of children and of the poor--both topics of interest to women. He called for the United States to act as a healer and a helper in foreign policy--roles that are familiar to and accepted by women more often than by men. He used consistent "we" language. In an area of southern California populated by immigrants from outside the U.S. and immigrants from other American states, Jackson urged keeping American immigration policy open. In an area where many military and civil service workers retire, he called for respect and positive treatment of senior citizens. As usual, Jackson used his voice, posture, gestures, and energy level in a progressive pattern meant to be a model for the audience unconsciously to mimic. He started the speech at a slow pace, using a solemn tone for the litany. As he warmed to the topic of keeping America strong, his voice got louder, his gestures stronger, and his energy level higher. By the end of the speech he was shouting triumphantly, smiling broadly, having a great time. Audience members were on their feet, shouting and cheering in response.

Conclusion

As we have now seen, Jackson uses many methods of creating identification in his audiences. Jackson is capable of assessing an audience and adapting his topic choice quickly and accurately to promote identification between himself and audience members. He used nonverbal elements as signs of character an audience respects, i.e., Burke's notion of "conduct" that the audience finds "admirable" (1969, p. 55). and are part of a speaker's strategic identification repertoire. His nonverbal behavior of self-respect and respect towards the audience helped audience members to develop the self-perceptions that lead to empowerment in the "created audience". He revealed his "substance" and motivations to help audience members trust him and identify him as a dynamic leader.

In the four speeches discussed above, Jackson spoke to four different audiences--Muslims, Hispanic-Americans, African-American church members, and women of majority and minority races. In each speech, he presented a message about the need for change and a plan to achieve it. His plan focused on the need for political consistency and idealism ("the politics of principle, not politics as usual"), the need to uphold important values (fairness, compassion, human rights, human values, service to others), the need to acknowledge and celebrate one's ethnic or religious heritage while negotiating in good faith with people of other heritages, and the need to confront the common enemies of drugs and despair and hopelessness. Jackson presented the themes of his message consistently, but altered the topics and methods of presentation to suit the audience before him. Jackson offered himself as the presidential candidate who was qualified to carry out the plan and thus achieve political change, with the overall goals of making America better and keeping America strong. His rhetoric showed versatility in selecting ideas, images, and language symbols likely to resonate with the audience before him, and create strong identification between himself and audience members. He frequently used rhetorical questions, imitating news anchors, mass circulation

magazines, and popular newspapers which asked "What does Jesse Jackson want?" He answered the question with one of several stock replies, such as "We want to empower the disenfranchised." or "To lead our nation beyond racism." or "I want you to be my partner." Or he would say, "You ask me, 'Jesse, why should Hispanics vote for you?' Because I helped to lead the drive for the right to vote."

Thus it is clear that in Jackson's California primary campaign rhetoric, he used some of the eleven Burkeian methods listed on page 4 above (ideas, images, language symbols, Aristotelian virtues, nonverbals, character, common ground techniques, antithesis, "we" language, transformation or transcendence, showing understanding) in communicating with each audience he faced. Each responded with great enthusiasm and apparent acceptance of his messages. Although Jackson did not win the California primary, he received about 185,000 votes compared to Dukakis' about 391,000, or about 32% vs. 68%. This is a strong showing, and indicates that nearly a third of California Democrats who voted in the primary responded positively to Jackson's messages. Jackson received 95% of the Black vote, 36% of the Latino vote, 22% of the Anglo vote, and 46% of the Asian vote (Skelton, 1988). A higher percentage of men (37%) than women (34%) voted for Jackson. Jackson and Dukakis were the only Democrats left on the last day of the primary season, out of a field of seven candidates. It seems safe to say that Jackson's rhetorical talents, including especially his ability to create identification in audience members, contributed to his successes in the primary campaign of 1988. As this analysis has shown, Jackson used a variety of the methods of identification suggested by Kenneth Burke. His goal of transforming audiences and helping them to see the power they possessed was reached with the individual audiences he faced, and continues in process today.

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